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divided into two bundles with the tips of the leaflets lying in the same direction. The butt ends of the two bundles are laid together and roughly fastened with a leaflet. Commencing about 4 inches from the proximal ends of the butt leaf bundles, leaflet 1 from the left bundle is passed to the right, leaflet 1 from the right bundle is passed to the left over leaflet 1 of the left bundle. This process is continued until all the leaflets have been crossed over. The leaflets are then plaited in closed leaf check and the finishing edge made with the *ikibings* technique. The two bundles containing the butt ends of the leaves are bound together with transverse turns of *semiti*, the completed lashing having buried commencement and finishing ends (p.134, p.). The technique is the same as that of the midrib-handle fan shown in figure 17 save that the handle is composed of the butt ends of the leaflets bound together.

Fan *Chisō* (*hi yaeae*) is a smaller fan made by the same technique. It commences with check plaiting, goes on to twilled twos, twilled threes, and finishes with rows of check. The fan is 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide at the top, which is straight instead of curved as with the other two fans. The handle is bound with nine turns of cotton string.

CORDAGE

283 Various materials are used as cords. Readily obtainable materials that serve a need of the moment are coconut leaflets and strips of fiber from the coconut midrib or from dried *paloko* stalks. These are used without preparation and discarded when no longer necessary. More permanent cordage is made from the husks of the coconut and from bark of the *wau* tree. *Wau* fiber is used for fishlines where quality is more important than quantity; coconut fiber is used for every variety of cord where strength and quantity are desired. Human hair is occasionally used to make short cords by which valuable ornaments (*yawa*) are hung from the neck.

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Wau fiber is prepared for the finer fishlines as follows:

Bark is peeled (*wawole*) by a man from a small branch or sapling (*yali*) of the *wau* tree and rolled up into a bundle (*peke*). A woman grooves with the *tuhi*. She puts the bark in a wooden bowl and covers it with fresh water. Then she places a strip of bark on a flat surface, a special board or the blade of a canoe paddle, with the inner surface of the bark lying downward on the board, and scrapes (*rua*) away the green outer bark with a shell until only the white inner bark is left. When all the strips of bark have been scraped, they are braided together at the ends by the man or woman to make a bundle of strips termed *titi wau*. This *titi* is hung in the sun for about two weeks to bleach. At the end of this time, each strip is rubbed with a half coconut shell until it is soft and pliable. Each strip is then shredded (*ceyiwaga*) into narrow widths (*uho*) which are ready to be made into fishline.

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Appliances used in *wau* bark preparation are:

Scraping board *Chay* (*peke wau wau*) is a board of *paupau* wood, 26 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 1½ inches thick. The scraping surface has a slight transverse convexity.

Shell scraper *Chad* (*bon*) is a highly polished and smoothed black-tipped pearl shell; greatest length 3½ inches, greatest width 2½ inches, thickness at the hinge ¾ inch, thickness at the tip 1/16 inch.

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Blank of fiber *Chiga* (*iti wau*) is a semi-bleached hank of prepared *wau* bark from which line may be made. Thirty-one strips of bark ranging in length from 3 feet to 6

* The *wau* is *wau*; fiber prepared from its bark, *wau*.

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[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Wela* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *wela* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

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The headpiece of *Yanonga* was also called *owanga*, but was associated with *Te Mamgatu* and *Talioqamatu*. It consisted of the *wela* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *wela* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *wela* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

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Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

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Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*ya*), or waist decoration (*sin*). Women seldom return from the *talo* gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children sleep in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

VILLAGE DECORATIONS

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For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kites, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of *Ngake* make their decoration of *mau* *mau* (the white-heart leaves of the pandanus), *laken* *ya*, *taumakomake*, or *pala* *pala*; the people of *Loto* make decorations of banana leaves (*low* *mau*); the people of *Yato*, of coconut leaves or the *mau* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*maibaga*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*sin*) are worn over the customary *baia* garment.

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The *sin* *mau* *mau* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain *mau* of prepared pandanus (*mau*) is used as a basic girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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girdle with a single overhand knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain headband of make uia leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *Samanea saman*, *Isbau pili*, *Pala paha*, and *maile* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

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Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the new plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. New twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of wao fiber were termed *mas tifi ai*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basic garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today.

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Edge-Parfington (8, ad ser., pl. 38, 5) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (sic)." This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

BREAST ORNAMENTS

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Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl shell or other shells. *Leis* (*yai*) are made of *tiolo* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiolo* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus *kay*. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yai*. One type of breast ornament (*yai liki ai*) is shown in figure 19a. Another

301 type, termed *tanmanes*, consisted of small fishhook shanks of pearl shell alternating with pieces of pearl shell cut into other shapes, strung on a cord of wax. There is no example of the *tanmanes* on the atoll today, but Talaiaga reported that he saw in the mistakenly opened grave pieces of pearl shell cut into the shape of five-pointed stars which he suggested belonged to an old *tanmanes*.

301 The pearl-shell breast ornament (*yosa*) shown in figure 19,b, is the most valued type of permanent ornament. It was formerly worn by the chief for ceremonial occasions. The formal placing of the *yosa* round the neck of an aspirant to a vacant title signified that he was the chosen man. Skinner (34,p.187), in discussing pearl-shell pendants in the Cook Islands, suggests that these pendants may have been attached to the head by plaiting the waist hair of the wearer. In support of this theory he reproduces from Gill (10,pl.p.18) a section of the plate entitled, "A Village in Fukupuka under Heathenism." Whatever the validity of the scene purported to be shown in this plate, informants knew of no custom of attaching ornaments to waist hair, nor is there any record of crescentic pearl-shell ornaments being attached to arms, torso, or sides of the head.

EAR ORNAMENTS

301 Ear ornaments are termed *umakuvuvanga*. The ear lobes of an infant are pierced with a bone of the sword fish or a spine of the pandanus leaf. 304 A piece of *pukono* wood is pushed through the hole and left until it heals, to prevent closing. There is no record of lobe distension by pushing bulky or heavy articles through the lobe holes. Earrings consist of small rings of coconut shell (*umakuvuvanga apupu ininga*) or else more elaborate earrings of coconut shell, turtle shell, and pearl shell. The earring illustrated (fig.19,c) is beautiful when polished. Informants stated that the design was an old one and could be executed with old time Fukupukan implements. Simple ear ornaments are made by pushing the stem of a *tiale* flower through the lobe hole. Another ornament called *hakalimi* is made by levering off with the thumb nail the floral bract (*hakalimi*) of the immature coconut, pinching the bract together to make a short slit. The slit is then placed against the lobe of the ear, and when the fingers are released the lobe is pinched by the natural spring of the bract.

HEAD ORNAMENTS

301 Simple head ornaments are made by pushing flowers into the hair or binding the hair with strips of pandanus or coconut leaflet. A flower so worn is a *pili*; a headband is a *puliki*. More elaborate headbands are made by splitting the flower and seed containers (*hupua*) of the pandanus tree

into thin strips which are then braided into a three-ply braid long enough to go round the head, the two free ends knotted together. The chaplet is sweet-smelling and is a favorite with both children and adults.

The coconut fiber fringes used to decorate the net hat of the chief are also worn separately as part of the decorative costume of Yato village. The fringe is fastened to a strip of pandanus leaf which is tied round the forehead. Fringes are fastened round the brim of the modern hat. The decoration is sometimes completed by more fringes worn round the neck and across the breast.

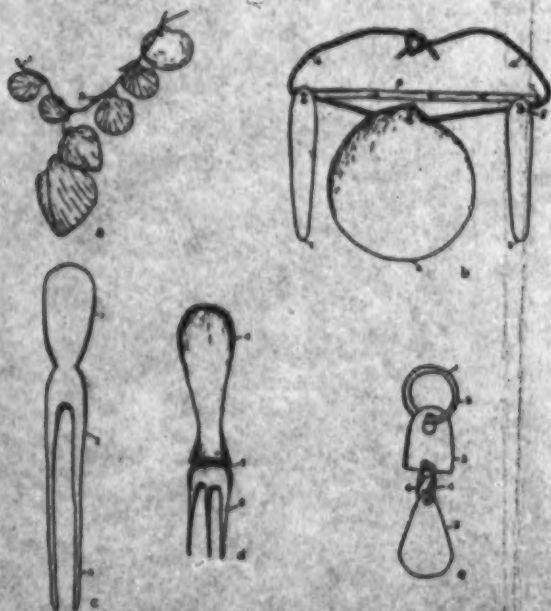


FIGURE 39.—Ornaments. a, section of shell neck ornament (poi kii ai); original (Chi38) consists of 32 small shells (*Pinctada*; *Chlamys*; *Cardium fragum*; and *Cedella*, *Jagania bella*); *Chlamys* are mainly yellow (some pink), *Pinctada* mottled blue and green, and other shells white; necklet cord (1), 34 inches long, made of two-ply twisted two cord; mm in diameter; holes bored in hinges of shells attached to necklet cord by single-ply strand of twisted two fiber (2), passing through hinge holes and making transverse turns around necklet cord. b, pearl-shell breast ornament (yasa) (Chi45); two side pendants (1, 2) of polished gold-lipped shell are shaped like a composite hook pearl-shell clasp; clasp (1) 4 inches long, 1/4 inch thick at distal end, 1/8 inch thick at

- 301 proximal end; shank (3) $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick at proximal end, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick at distal end; each shank $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide at proximal end, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide at distal end; outer shell (a) also of gold-lipped shell, polished smooth; greatest length $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, greatest width $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, thickness at hinge $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, at lip $\frac{1}{4}$ inch; at proximal end of each piece of shell two holes drilled with old-time drill, showing crater effect; necklet cord (4) of three-ply braided human hair 2 feet $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and averages $3/16$ inch in thickness; pendants fastened to necklet cord by length of braid (5) $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, which passes through holes and is knotted to necklet cord; pendants held apart by stretcher (6) of sponge wood $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick; ends of stretcher notched (2) and fastened to necklet cord by four transverse turns of fine two-ply twisted coco cord; turns finished off with circumferential turns between cord and stretcher. c, wooden comb (yelu) (C804) with two teeth (matelua) made of sponge wood; $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches long; handle (1) averages $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick; teeth $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick at 3, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick at 4; comb with three teeth (matelua) (C803) made of sponge wood; handle round and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick at 4; a pronounced shoulder (5) separates handle from short teeth (6) which are $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and average $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. e, earring (mahereverenge) of pearl, turtle, and coconut shell (C8140): coconut-shell ring (1) $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in inner diameter and $1/16$ inch thick, cut through obliquely at a so that ends can be opened and slipped through hole in ear lobe; thin plate of golden pearl shell (3), attached to ring, $7/16$ inch high, less than $1/16$ inch thick; attached to lower plate of pearl shell (5) by figure-of-eight connective of black turtle shell (4) which is $5/16$ inch high, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, and $1/32$ inch thick; each half of connective slit (6) so that it may be slipped onto two plates of pearl shell; lower plate of pearl shell (5) 1 inch high and less than $1/16$ inch thick.

- 301 Formerly when both sexes wore long hair, the hair was dressed with wooden combs (fig. 19c,d). The two-pronged comb (yelu mata lua) was used to beat water from the hair after it had been washed; the three-pronged comb (yelu mata tolu) was used to arrange the hair and sweep it back before tying it together at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. For ornamentation, the combs were often left in the hair. Though the wooden comb has gone out of use today, most women wear a trade comb as an everyday ornament.

STONEWORK

- 324 Because of the absence of basaltic stone, Pukapukan stonework is limited to the use of coral (punga), coral conglomerate (kau/pa), and coral pebbles (kikili). Stone is used for paths, seats, walls, house foundations, well facings, fishweirs, graves, religious structures, and tools.

PATHS

- 487 Paths and trails cut through the bush lead from the lagoon side to the outer beach side of the island. When they reach the outer beach, some paths are continued down to the sea and across sharp coral rubble by stepping stones of flat slabs of coral conglomerate placed over the rubble. They enable the fishermen or other visitor to the outer beach to walk to the sea without cutting his feet on the sharp stones.

776 of the south wind; Te Atua Vaelua was god of the north wind; Te Awuawu,
 821 god of the east wind; and Ngaliyeyu, god of the west wind. The four gods
 were leaders of hosts of attendant gods who fought each other from their
 respective parts of the sky by throwing spears at each other. The spears
 were thought of as shafts of air and the speed with which they traveled
 caused the winds to blow. Thus when the winds grew strong the people said,
 "The spirits of the gods are fighting hard." Then the people went to the
 priests of Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua and asked them to intercede
 with the gods to call off the battle for the time being. If the winds of Te
 Awuawu or Ngaliyeyu were rebellious, the people prayed to these gods
 directly.

Because of their control of the winds, these gods were directly interested
 also in the control of the sea, especially the natural perils of the sea. They
 were consulted directly, or through priests, before fishing or voyaging expedi-
 tions that they might favor the people with calm seas and gentle winds. In
 this control, they were joined by Talitonganuku, who was more interested
 in waterspouts and whirlwinds. Fighting between the gods was responsible
 for the abandoning of deep-sea voyaging. (See p. 408.)

776 Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua were also interested in fish, particularly
 242 in fish with pointed mouths like garfish, sword fish, needle fish. The priests
 613 of these two gods were not supposed to eat any of these fish; this is the only
 example of a food tapu associated with a god. The people of the lineage
 might eat these fish.

776 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyu were sometimes called *atua late tangaloa*
 (tame gods). They were considered more reliable than some of the lineage
 gods, and were consulted by all the people of the island when quick action
 or response was required. They could be consulted anywhere and at any
 time, on land or sea, and did not require the mediation of a priest. They
 were appealed to in sickness, for the curing of which their reputation was
 high. Though their home was in the Underworld, they were ready to come
 forth with the utmost promptness to help intercessors.

776 It is possible that formerly there were decorations and attributes asso-
 613 ciated with these gods that are now forgotten. Thus in an old chant, "La-
 ngona e te lulu i Matino", there is a reference to the carrying pole (*amonga*)
 of Ngaliyeyu. This is believed by informants to refer to the fact that
 Ngaliyeyu used a carrying pole to transport, perhaps symbolically, his power
 from one place to the next. He gave part of his power or protection, which
 by transfer was attributed to his carrying pole, to the sub-lineage Walanga-
 leka, another part to the Yato lineage Yayi. Hence these lineages sometimes
 refer to themselves in chants as *te amonga o Ngaliyeyu*; they refer also to
 [361] their worship of the carrying pole on the religious structure of the god.
 With Ngaliyeyu are associated decorations of *puu laukie* for his male wor-

776 ships and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions
 801 it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie*
 673 may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or
 else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be
 an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree,
 unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from
 Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart
 from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

776 Ngaliyeyu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the
 [312] seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper,
 had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out,
 Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also
 guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utu-
 poa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by
 Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw
 away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the
 reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head
 776 covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad
 822 shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the
 covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped
 Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te
 752 Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and
 793 ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the
 reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He
 776 had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island
 613 might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling
 the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld,
 especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld
 where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always
 helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times.
 His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to
 have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred
 enclosure called a *sewa*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is
 as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and
 was a virtuoso at whistling.

Aweketa Gosa

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of
 familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.